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UPLIFT THE RED FLAG OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S  
THOUGHT AND HASTEN CONSTRUCTION IN  
TSAIDAM

By Fang Hsin

- COMMUNIST CHINA -

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UPLIFT THE RED FLAG OF MAO TSE-TUNG'S  
THOUGHT AND HASTEN THE CONSTRUCTION IN  
TSAIDAM

-COMMUNIST CHINA-

[ Following is the translation of an article  
by Fang Hsin, first secretary of the Tsai-  
dam (Ch'ai-ta-mu) Operational Committee of  
the Chinese Communist Party, in Ch'ing-hai  
Jih-pao ( Tsinghai Daily), Hsi-ning, Ch'ing-  
hai Province, 1 June 1960, p. 2.]

For years, especially since 1958, under the correct leadership of the Provincial Party Committee, a basic change has taken place in the countenance of the Tsaidam region. It has changed from a primitive, backward pastoral industry economy and a vast no-man land to an important industrial, mining area and a base of agriculture and animal husbandry in our province. A large amount of high-quality mineral and animal products has started production to support the undertakings of socialist construction in the province as well as in the entire nation. During

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1958 and 1959, the gross value of industrial output increased by 28 times (compared to 1957, and the same below). The sown area of agricultural crops expanded 1.1 times. The total output of food grains increased by 7 times. The output of unit area exceeded the "Yellow River" [implying the average level] early in 1958 and reached 420 chin. The total head of animals registered a net increase of 45.6%. In 1958, the system of the people's communes came into effect in agricultural and pastoral areas. Through a series of reform movements the people's communes have embarked on the road toward consolidation and vigorous development. Since the beginning of this year, the situation has turned out to be even better. The technical innovation and technical revolution which embraces all the region and contains a variety of items is steadily moving ahead. The production of industry, agriculture and animal husbandry has reported an increase of several times over the same period of the preceding year. Recently, in all the major cities and towns the system of people's communes has been carried into practice. The new period of big construction and big development in Tsaidam is already not a matter of remoteness; instead, it is imminent, and the day of its coming can be expected.

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Such an overall change in Tsaidam, however, is not accidental. It is a victory of the correct leadership of the Provincial Party Committee. It is also a victory of the constant strengthening of Party leadership, the persistence in the supremacy of politics, the operation of big mass movements, the firm performance of socialist revolution, and the high-speed development of socialist construction under the beacon light of the general line, the big leap forward, and the people's communes. And in the last analysis, it is a victory of the brilliant light of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

I.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the embodiment of Marxist Leninism in the development of the new historical age. It is an ever-victorious weapon and a magic power which lead the Chinese people toward their great ideal society, a Communist society. The experience derived from the development of construction in Tsaidam has repeatedly shown that at any time, in any kind of work, if we follow the footsteps of Chairman Mao and work according to his thought we will make progress and achieve victory. Conversely, we will come to a standstill and fail in our work.

Before liberation, over two thirds of the land in Tsaidam was barren, no living animals could possibly survive. In the eastern part of the region where a trifle pastoral industry economy was in existence, the pasture degenerated, the land for cultivation became desert, and productivity reduced. All this was the result of the feudal ownership of the means of production which deprived the toiling people of national minorities the right to develop production. After liberation, however, we have worked for a transformation of all the old social relationships and a re-establishment of the community (in the eastern part of Tsaidam) on the one hand, and started reorganizing the community (in the western part) on the other. If we want to realize this unprecedented task we must work in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thought. Otherwise, there is no other outlet.

During the past few years, some people turned aside from Mao Tse-tung's thought and the instructions of the Provincial Party Committee on problems concerning the democratic reform and socialist transformation in agricultural and pastoral areas of the eastern part of Tsaidam. They distorted the Party's peaceful reform policy on the pretext that the situation in the areas of national minorities was "peculiar," hesitated to organize mass movements,

and tried to achieve the revolutionary task by using the revisionist method which ruled out the practice of class struggle. They made a vain effort. Class struggle, regardless of the form in which it is conducted, is after all a struggle of life and death. As Chairman Mao said, "...It is a violent action in which one class overthrows the other." Therefore, we must lead the people to win victory in accordance with the situation. We can not evade or hide responsibility, or portray the situation in a different way. Subsequent to liberation, the peaceful reform policy adopted by the Party against the ranchers' economy is a new form of class struggle based on proletarian dictatorship. It is a manifestation of the solidity and tactics of the proletarian revolution under new historical conditions. If we depart from dictatorship, turn aside from the goal to realize communism, and talk in great length about peaceful reform [such as advocated by the rightists], we will get nowhere and will dump ourselves into the swamp of opportunism.

In the western part of Tsaidam, as soon as we started reorganizing the community, there emerged a group of people who were ready to be the slaves of nature. On the ground that Tsaidam is a desert surrounded by the Kunlun Mountains in the south and the Ch'i-lien Mountains in the north, they

asserted that people could not survive in this area. But, their assertion turned out to be false. Truly, the conditions in the western part of Tsaidam was poor at that time. People could get nothing but air, and there was even very little water which is essential to the survival of human beings. However, the masses of employees and workers, under the leadership of the Party, refused to be slaved by nature. They said, "Roads have come into being after people walked on them, and conditions are created by men; we want to have those things which our predecessors have had, and we also want to have those things which our predecessors have not had." In this spirit, people soon unveiled the secret of a virgin land, created conditions for survival, and thus wrote a new page in the history of Tsaidam. Now, we have already set our feet on the ground. But the question is how to stabilize the situation and make rapid progress. There are two ways: one is to request for investment and equipment from upper authorities and the other to live on the principle of self-support while working for outside aid. The difference between these two views of the world, two roads, and two lines of struggle has underlain the problem of our region for the past years. Early in 1954 when Chairman Mao spoke on the problem of self-sufficiency in the army, he said, "If only superiors know how to assign duties and give a free hand to their



subordinates to work for their own living, the problem is solved. It will be solved even in a better way. On the other hand, if superiors do not act in this way...do not tap the positivism of the broad masses for self-sufficiency, then no matter how much effort they make, both superiors and their subordinates will be in trouble. And under the present conditions they will never solve any problem." In the development and construction of Tsaidam, this brilliant road of self-support pointed out by Chairman Mao is the only road to be followed. The question, however, is whether or not we trust the leadership of the Party, whether or not we trust the masses, whether or not we rely on the masses, and whether or not we can distinguish between the principle of greater, faster, better and more economic and that of smaller, slower, worse and more expansive. There is the kind of people who, in a reactionary manner, insist on doing nothing but waiting for outside aid. Thus, they depart from Mao Tse-tung's thought on the basic viewpoint and enter the death valley. Such people have existed in the past and are still existing in some places. They deserve our attention and can be a warning to us.

All the erroneous viewpoints mentioned above reflect the current of thought of the capitalist class. It must

be noted that every successful operation achieved in Tsaidam has resulted from our firm struggle against various ideological deviations of the capitalist class and other views of the world, under the direction of the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Experience shows that the intensity of such struggle parallels the thoroughness of the socialist revolution on the ideological and political fronts, the pace of the revolution in the social system and the development of economic construction. Since we forcefully eliminated the revisionist theory of "peaceful reform" and the various capitalist views toward national minorities in our cadre force, vigorously organized the masses to surge up a revolutionary tide in pastoral areas, inspired the revolutionary positivism of the masses to form a powerful force to overthrow the old system and establish a new system, we achieved in the first three months of 1958 cooperativization in agriculture and in the economy of the pastoral industry. Following that, we launched a revolutionary mass struggle against the rancher class and the system of feudal oppression and exploitation in religion. Thus, we achieved a decisive victory. The pasture has now become the people's world, and on the basis of the constant elevation of class consciousness of the toiling people of national minorities, we have consolidated

and developed cooperativization into the system of the people's communes. The people of national minorities joyfully sing: "Under the sunshine we will not be frozen; following the footsteps of the Communist Party nothing will be wrong." National unity has been strengthened to an unprecedentedly high degree, and in the areas of agriculture and animal husbandry, there has emerged a record-breaking prosperity, in terms of animal breeding and population growth. As a result of our effort in eliminating "the theory of unable to survive" and the view of the world held by those cowardly and lazy people, we have got over four barriers in the western part of Tsaidam, i.e., we have set our feet on the ground and created conditions for our survival, reduced costs in mine-prospecting, discovered important mineral deposits, and organized the community. In an area where, a few years ago, was a no-man land, we realized in the same manner as those areas which have heavy population and solid foundation a big leap forward in the national economy, and scored a victory in the high-speed development of production. We are successfully passing through the barrier of food grains, i.e., we will have sufficient food for our own use with some surplus. We are expecting the arrival of a new period in which big development and big construction will be effected.

As a result of the elimination of rightist viewpoints, we have highly trained and greatly raised the broad cadres' and masses' ability to know the situation and to distinguish the direction of winds in the violent storm of revolution. Thereby, we have enabled them to clearly see that rightist ideology is a big stumbling-block in our progress. It is a kind of "malady," as Chairman Mao put it. It emerges when the task of revolution and construction is in a difficult situation, and it also comes to the scene when the task of revolution and construction is successfully marching ahead. If we are not careful it will hurt us, damaging our undertakings. For this reason, we can not ignore it. We should combat it whenever and wherever it emerges, in order to prevent its growth and ramification.

## II.

Rightist ideology is essentially incompatible with the general line for building socialism which is manifested through the principles of going all out, aiming high, greater, faster, better and more economic. We combat right deviations for the very reason that we want to thoroughly execute the general line, to stimulate the

people's revolutionary working energy, and to mobilize all positive elements. Chairman Mao once said, "Self-conscious activity is the character of mankind." This is to say that men must have working energy; with it, everything can be done. Or as the masses of workers and peasants put it, "We are not afraid of anything but the lack of working energy." If we want to build up Tsaidam we must have all-powerful revolutionary energy to remove whatever barriers confronting us, clear and correct political direction, and faith in permanent revolution and constant progress. We must have daring ambition and revolutionary initiative to take whatever risk when deemed necessary and to carry out our operations in a courageous way. This is the primary character which a revolutionary must have. Experience tells us that when the direction is correct, people's working energy becomes decisive. With working energy, we can not only extract petroleum, produce food grains and all other material wealth, but improve our knowledge, learn science and enrich our mental wealth. At Leng-hu, we established a standard oil field within a period of five months. On a salt soil 3,000 meters above the sea level, we cultivated over 10,000 mou of high-yield field and planted spring

wheat with an average output of 1,000 chin per mou. At Yen-hu, we built flat, streamlined highways. In mountain areas, we established factories with simple tools... In a word, none of these achievements has not resulted from the masses' working energy, the emancipation of thought, and the breakdown of superstition, and none of these has not enriched the treasure of science. We owe our success to the revolutionary working energy of the masses. Therefore, in the future, we should continue to rely on the revolutionary working energy of the masses for the development of our strength.

Working energy stems from faithful loyalty to the Party, from high political consciousness, and from the sensibility of new events. It is a matter of consciousness. Therefore, if we want to summon up working energy we must continually strengthen the leadership of the Party, persist in the principle of putting politics in command, and establish the proletarian class' view of the world. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Political work is the life line of all economic work." "Without correct political viewpoint it amounts to that we do not have soul." However, there are such people whose viewpoint is in contrast with what Chairman Mao has taught us. Instead of recognizing the supremacy of politics they put "money in command." They advocate that material reward should come

first. They hold that Tsaidam is a poor region. If we do not pay high wage we will not be able to get people to take part in our construction work. Facts have shown that these points of view are wrong. Since 1958, under the beacon light of the Party's general line, there has emerged a series of upsurges in the course of the big leap forward. They are not the result of material reward; instead, they result from the Party's political and ideological work which has been manifested through a sequence of rectifications and anti-rightist struggles. It has been proved: money does not buy political enthusiasm which, in fact, is determined by people's view of the world. As the masses pointed out: "By putting politics in command, it shows that our ideology is red. We get inspirations to work hard for a happy life which is very close to us. By putting money in command, it shows that our ideology is black. Then, we work in slow motion and have nothing in mind but expediency."

Chairman Mao's thought to integrate the theory of permanent revolution with that of the development of revolutionary stages is the sharpest weapon to summon the masses' revolutionary working energy. With the theory of permanent revolution in mind people will have ever-rising revolutionary working energy. For years, according

to the instructions of the Provincial Party Committee, we have adopted a set of effective operational methods, such as integrating small drives with big movements, small actions with big campaigns, making long-range plan while arranging immediate programs, looking down while walking up, combining daily operation with special activities, establishing models and managing to win champion. On the basis of the major contradictions in our work at different periods, we have continuously assigned new tasks to the masses, established new targets, called out slogans to stimulate the masses. One movement after another, we have managed to break down superstition to emancipate people's thought, and to maintain the masses' intense revolutionary enthusiasm. For instance, in 1957, when the problem of survival had been settled in the western part of this basin we immediately called out a combat slogan to mobilize employees and workers for the reduction of costs in mine-prospecting. Following the realization of that task, we in the spring of 1958 issued an order urging the people to overcome natural hardship, work for self-sufficiency, develop natural resources, and establish industries in this region for the service of the nation. Since this year, we have submitted a program calling for "three years of bitter fighting in order



to get over the barrier in the production of food grains." Concerning the problem of socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry in the eastern part of the region we launched a similar program. In this way of doing, we have kept the masses' enthusiasm at a high level and encouraged their working energy. While the masses' revolutionary working energy is high all specters, deviations, such as "the theory of conditions," "the theory of backwardness," "inferior complex," are wiped out. The old exploiters and right conservatives are all plunged into the sea of the toiling masses and have to change themselves.

The Party's general line for building socialism is a completely correct Marxist-Leninist line. If we implement the general line we will be able to mobilize the masses' positivism and creativeness from all directions and develop all undertakings at a high speed. If we depart from the general line, the masses' positivism will die out and we will have trouble developing our undertakings. The center of the general line is a matter of speed. In order to achieve a high-speed development, we must summon up our working energy and go all out. During the enforcement of the general line we have integrated Tsaidam's conditions with the instructions of the Provincial Party Committee. We have insisted on the principle of relying on the

masses, the principle of self-support, and the policy of building Tsaidan with existing facilities. In our work we have emphasized the idea of self-support as our basic principle and the request for outside aid as our secondary means. We have stressed that all actions must be realistic and indigenous methods should be used for construction. We have observed the principles of simultaneous development of large, medium and small enterprises and the simultaneous employment of foreign and indigenous methods, "walking on two legs," and criticized the erroneous idea to request upper authorities for investment, equipment and materials. By so doing, we have been able to encourage and maintain the masses' revolutionary enthusiasm and create conditions for construction under the principle of self-support.

### III.

Our action of using all conceivable means to stimulate the masses' revolutionary working energy is based on the basic principle of Marxism-Leninism that the masses of the people are the creators of history. Chairman Mao has taught: "People, only people, are the creative force of history." "Aside from the leadership of the Party, the

600 million people is the decisive factor." "If only we rely on the people, trust the people in the firm belief that the creative ability of the masses of the people is endless, and unite ourselves with the masses into one entity, we will be able to overcome whatever difficulty confronting us, and no enemy will be able to overthrow us but we will overthrow our enemy." Our aim is that we want to make Tsaidam one of our nation's important industrial bases. Without voluntary participation of the broad masses it is impossible to reach this goal. On the other hand, in order to organize the masses to take part in construction it is necessary to surge up a revolutionary tide. In other words, it is necessary to operate sustained mass movements on all fronts. The bigger the mass movement is, the better result we'll achieve. A big mass movement will spur a big leap forward, and a sustained mass movement will bring about a sustained big leap forward. Conversely, a small mass movement or no mass movement will only achieve a small leap forward or no leap forward. This has been our most important experience since 1958. However, the capitalist class usually argues that "a few people can not operate mass movement," to organize mass movements is "to disturb the people" or is a manifestation of "formalism." We have sharply criticized

such viewpoints and organized mass movements in all walks of life. As a result, we have succeeded in achieving continued leaps forward in the national economy. In 1958 alone, we discovered more mining spots than the total discovered in the previous three years by a margin of 274%. In a period of two years [1958-9], we have established a good many of large and small factories and mines, and produced over 2,000 kinds of various products. In all directions, we have acquired greater, faster, better and more economic results.

The key of the mass movement lies in the leadership of the Party. The process of developing mass movement is the process of strengthening the Party's leadership. The Party cadres at various levels are the intermediate force between the Party and the masses, through which the Party's leadership is realized. They are the keystone of mass movements. Their display and attitude in the course of mass movements have great influence on the masses. In other words, cadres, especially leading cadres, play a decisive role in the course of mass movements. If they are high in consciousness, far in sight, determined in mind, bold in action, sufficient in working energy, tactful in skill, and fast in action, the masses can be organized into a movement immediately. As the masses

of workers said, "When the leaders are more determined in mind our working energy is higher. With the cadres in the front line we have nothing to be afraid of."

Many facts have shown that if only the cadres are energetic, know how to assign duties and to point out directions, and persist in implementing the Party's general line, policies and programs, the situation can be changed to a great extent. The backward will become the advanced, and those whose aim is low will aim high. Otherwise, the advanced will become the backward, those whose aim is high will aim low. During the past few years we have assigned a great number of cadres to the first line of the front. As a result, we have achieved a sustained big leap forward. Alongside the development of mass movements, we have actively trained cadres, enriched the experience of their leadership and cultivated a large number of excellent people. In return, through the elevation of cadres' leadership and the cultivation of new personnel the masses have been brought into one entity and are marching ahead toward victory. It is in this way of doing and under the leadership of the Party that the masses and the cadres have been able to live in a harmonious relationship, working for the common goal. Their close cooperation and mutual assistance have led Tsaidam from one victory to another.

IV.

At present, the conditions in our region are very good. Big development and big construction will come soon. The new situation, however, demands that all the Party comrades in Tsaidam should be firm in will, ambitious in mind, and liberal in thought. In order to make great development they should lead the vast employees, workers and minority peoples marching ahead at a higher speed alongside the brilliant road pointed out by the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao. In the coming three years our basic tasks are to get over the barriers of food grains, to produce steel and iron and to lay down a solid foundation for the big development, big construction of Tsaidam in all fields. Concretely speaking, we must produce sufficient food grains, oil, meat, vegetable and hay after the fall of this year. Then, in the following year, we should be able to produce sufficient food grains with some surplus. And in the year after next we should have a great amount of food grains in reserve. In order to insure the realization of the foresaid tasks, we adopt the following measures:

1. We shall continue to expand mass movements and give overall support to agriculture. Agriculture is

the base of the national economy. Without a solid and broad base it is impossible to build a mansion. As Comrade Lenin said, "The real foundation lies in food reserve...Without such reserve the state and the regime will come to an end. Without such reserve the program of socialism is nothing but a wishful thinking." In the past years we have experienced through practice that Chairman Mao's instruction concerning "the necessity of combining the development of industry with that of agriculture" is very wise and correct. We have also felt that the Provincial Party Committee's instruction concerning "the development of agriculture today is for the development of industry tomorrow" is of great significance. Only by controlling sufficient food grains can we steadily develop industry and other undertakings of construction, can we insure the sustained big leap forward in the national economy. If agriculture fails to produce rapidly then we must have committed a strategic mistake. For this reason, we should educate all Party members and the people to unify their ideology, language and action with the development of agriculture as our common target. By so doing, we shall be able to continue the current mass movement for the overall support of agriculture. We should adopt effective measures to concentrate our

force in order that within the coming three years we will be able to change the countenance of agriculture in our region and to get over the barrier of food grains.

2. We shall wage a bigger mass movement to develop technical innovations and technical revolution centering on "mechanization, automation, eletrification and modernization," step up the technical transformation of the national economy, and increase production without increasing workers. This is our basic method which will be used to achieve our tasks and to insure a sustained big leap forward in the future. It is also one of the key points of the Party's general line for building socialism. In a word, it is a combat task. At present, this movement is already well under way in our region and has made some achievements. The degree of mechanization and semi-mechanization in the Mineral Oil Bureau's operation has greatly increased, and the same holds true for local industries. In the Communications Bureau of Tsaidam the maintenance of automobiles has been also mechanized or semi-mechanized.

The Te-ling-ha Farm introduced the advanced experience of using one tractor to pull several trailers. It has used a medium-sized tractor to pull five sowing machines. As a result, it covered 1,000 to 1,500 mou of



land in a single day. When it pulls twenty double-wheeled ploughs it can cultivate 600 mou a day...and so on. Nevertheless, the movement is not yet developed in a proportionate way. Some working units have moved slowly and adopted weak measures. Therefore, our task at the present moment is to continue to organize vigorous mass movements, to criticize and overcome inferior complex, superstition and conservative ideologies. We must systematize and popularize our experience derived from reforms, raise operational level, adopt and apply new techniques to the operation of agriculture, industry, animal husbandry, communications and transport, public health, social services, and so forth. In a word, we must apply all the experience derived from various reforms to all directions in order to make achievements in production. Furthermore, we must direct the movement of mechanization, automation, electrification and modernization inspired by technical innovations and technical revolution to develop in a correct, scientific and popular way, and to sustain its elevation.

3. We shall organize the people to learn Mao Tse-tung's thought, and use it as the standard measurement and a weapon to investigate and overcome political right deviations, in order that the socialist revolution on the

political and ideological fronts will be thoroughly implemented. At present, the rightist ideology in our work is principally manifested in the following way: knowledge lagging behind the situation, leadership lagging behind the masses. There is the kind of people who always like to do their job according to "customary regulations" and old experience. They like to look backward instead of looking forward, and are satisfied with status quo. They are slow in learning the advanced or even not learning the advanced. As regards the backward, they give very little help to them or even pay no attention to them. They do not support good people and good things, and they appease or compromise with bad persons and bad things. They tolerate reactionaries, try to evade difficulties, and take the advantage of opportunities. They are in lack of Communist will power and ambition. In their work, there is no depth, no division of labour, and no practice. Their measures are not effective, and their attitude is bureaucratic. All this has seriously prevented the development of our work. Therefore, it is necessary to organize a bigger mass movement for all the people to learn, propagate and implement Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is necessary to use Mao Tse-tung's thought to arm cadres' and masses'

ideology, to thoroughly combat right deviations, to overcome bureaucratism, and to emancipate thinking. It is necessary to take bold actions, to jump out the old circle and adopt new methods. Big mass movements must be waged and working energy summoned up so as to pave the way for the further development of productivity.

We firmly believe that under the correct leadership of the Provincial Party Committee, if only we continue to hold high the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, combat right deviations, summon up more working energy, urge all Party members and the people to be firm in will, ambitious in mind, to display talents and adopt, popularize new techniques in all directions, the construction of Tsaidam will definitely advance at a higher speed. After a few years of bitter fighting, Tsaidam will become a combined industrial base proudly standing at the northwest of Ch'ing-hai province, and will be able to make more contributions to the socialist construction of the province as well as the entire nation.

Let us hold high the red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought and march ahead at a higher-speed!

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